Moral Philosophy in England after Grosseteste: An "Underground" History

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During the thirteenth century the arts curriculum at the English universities achieved the form that it would retain, albeit with minor modifications, throughout the remainder of the Middle Ages. Upon successful completion of the arts course, a student would have become familiar with the subjects of the *trivium*, the *quadrivium*, and the three philosophies, natural, moral, and metaphysical. The time and energy devoted to these several *divisiones scientiarum* was hardly evenly distributed, however, with the undergraduate years being overwhelmingly dominated by logic and the baccalaureate by natural philosophy and some of the related subjects of the *quadrivium*.[1] By the middle years of the fourteenth century Oxford had become especially famous for the achievements of its masters of arts in the fields of logic and the closely related area of speculative grammar and, especially at Merton College, in scientific inquiry.[2] As the century wore on a kind of *usus Oxoniensis* developed, as Oxford and Cambridge scholars increasingly studied and developed "the work of their predecessors" and became "less receptive to concepts and material produced on the continent."[3] What, then, became of the poor relations of the arts curriculum, rhetoric, moral philosophy, and metaphysics? According to the evidence of its statutes, Oxford, in 1431, made an effort to redress this imbalance in studies when it issued a revised arts curriculum stipulating three terms each for rhetorical and moral philosophical studies and two for metaphysics.[4] Yet, according to J.M. Fletcher, the 1431 statute, which

[1] James A. Weisheipl, "Curriculum of the Faculty of Arts at Oxford in the Early Fourteenth Century," *Mediaeval Studies* 26 (1964): 143–85.

[2] J. M. Fletcher, "The Faculty of Arts," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 1, *The Early Oxford Schools*, ed. Jeremy I. Catto (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 364–99, here 393–95.

[3] Fletcher, "Faculty of Arts," 395–96.

[4] The prescribed rhetorical texts were either Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, or the fourth book of Boethius's *Topics*, or the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, or Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, or Vergil's poetry. Those for moral philosophy were Aristotle's *Nicomachean*

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was probably compiled in response to the humanist predilections of the university's powerful patron, Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, seems to have gained little traction, so that arts teaching continued to be "supplied from texts written by Oxford logicians and, to a lesser extent, by Oxford scientists of the fourteenth and early fifteenth century." Much the same can be said of the curriculum at Cambridge.[5]

It would be wrong, however, to write off these less prominent arts subjects just because they took a back seat to logic and natural philosophy in the taught curriculum. For studied and used they certainly were. Rhetoric, we now know, flourished in dictaminal studies in late medieval Oxford, while metaphysics received serious attention from theologians.[6] Texts of moral philosophy retained an important place in the arts curriculum and continued to be read and used by arts graduates, whether in their theological studies or out in the world.[7] Still, if scholars have long recognized the substantial contributions of the Englishmen Robert Grosseteste and Walter Burley to moral philosophical studies in the later Middle Ages, no attempt has been made, so far as I know, to examine closely the manuscript evidence for the reception of Aristotle's moral philosophy in England during the two and a half centuries after Grosseteste's death. This essay attempts

Ethics, *Economics*, or *Politics*; and, for metaphysics, Aristotle's *Metaphysics*: J. M. Fletcher, "Developments in the Faculty of Arts, 1370–1520," in *The History of the University of Oxford*, vol. 2, *Late Medieval Oxford*, ed. Jeremy I. Catto and Ralph Evans (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 315–45, here 323–24.

[5] Fletcher, "Developments," 341, 345. See also the conclusion of J. A. Weisheipl, "Science in the Thirteenth Century," in *History of the University of Oxford*, 1: 435–69, here 438: "Even after the 'three philosophies' were recognized as essential courses in the arts faculty, neither moral philosophy nor metaphysics ever played an important role at Oxford; the mainstay of Oxford education in the middle ages was always logic and the natural sciences, mainly based on the *libri naturales* of Aristotle." For Cambridge, see Damien R. Leader, *A History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. 1, *The University to 1546* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 157.

[6] On rhetoric, see R.J. Schoeck, "On Rhetoric in Fourteenth-Century Oxford," *Mediaeval Studies* 30 (1968): 214–55, here 214–25; P. Osmund Lewry, "Rhetoric at Paris and Oxford in the Mid-Thirteenth Century," *Rhetorica* 1 (1983): 45–63; Martin Camargo, *Medieval Rhetorics of Prose Composition: Five English "Artes Dictandi" and Their Tradition*, MRTS 115 (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1995); John O. Ward, "Rhetoric in the Faculty of Arts at the Universities of Paris and Oxford in the Middle Ages: A Summary of the Evidence," *Bulletin DuCange* 54 (1996): 159–231. For theology, see Jeremy I. Catto, "Theology and Theologians 1220–1320," in *History of the University of Oxford*, 1: 471–517, here 497; idem, "Theology after Wycliffism," in *History of the University of Oxford*, 2:263–80, here 266–76.

[7] Leader, *History*, 1: 163–67; Charles F. Briggs, *Giles of Rome's "De regimine principum": Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University, c. 1275-c. 1525* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 91–107.

to survey that evidence in order to begin the reconstruction of what might be termed the "underground" history of Aristotelian moral philosophy in later medieval England.[8]

The Latin translations of moral philosophical works by or purporting to be by Aristotle, these being the *Nicomachean Ethics* (and the earlier incomplete translation, dating from the late twelfth and early thirteenth century, of bks. I-III, which circulated as the *Ethica nova* and *Ethica vetus*), *Politics*, and pseudo-Aristotelian *Economics*, provided the set texts of the curriculum for moral philosophy in Europe's medieval universities. Several other texts of the *Corpus Aristotelicum* came also to be attached unofficially to this area of study, namely the *Rhetoric*, the *Magna moralia*, *De bona fortuna* (a confection consisting of *Eudemian Ethics*, VII.14, and *Magna moralia*, II.8), and the Aristotelizing works of Arabic origin, the *Summa Alexandrinorum* (an abridged *Nicomachean Ethics*) and *Secretum secretorum*.

Before the close of the thirteenth century, the importance of moral philosophy, or at least of the *Ethics*, in the arts curriculum of the University of Oxford seemed firmly established. Robert Grosseteste had, after all, translated the *Nicomachean Ethics*, as well as a number of Greek commentaries on the work, during the latter half of the 1240s. In addition to this, he penned several brief notes, or *notulae*, on the text and its commentaries, and compiled a chapter summary, the *Summa Ethicorum*.[9] Oxford scholars of the generation after Grosseteste maintained a high level of activity in the teaching of moral philosophy. The Dominican Robert Kilwardby (d. 1279) is the likely author of a commentary on the *Ethica nova* and *Ethica vetus*. Although this work is likely associated with his teaching at Paris in the early 1240s, he continued to demonstrate his familiarity with the *Ethics*, now in the version of Grosseteste, in his teaching as Dominican lector in theology at Oxford.[10] By 1283 the Merton MA John Dinsdale

[8] I have borrowed and adapted the term and concept of "underground history" from the "underground tradition" of Aristotle's social philosophy developed by Cary J. Nederman, "Aristotelian Ethics Before the *Nicomachean Ethics*: Alternate Sources of Aristotle's Concept of Virtue in the Twelfth Century," in idem, *Medieval Aristotelianism and its Limits* (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1997), 55–75, here 74.

[9] René-Antoine Gauthier, trans., *L'Éthique à Nicomaque* (Louvain: Publications universitaires, 1970), 1.1, "Introduction," 120–24; S. Harrison Thomson, "The 'Notule' of Grosseteste on the Nicomachean Ethics," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 19 (1933): 195–218; Daniel A. Callus, "Robert Grosseteste as Scholar," in *Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop: Essays in Commemoration of the Seventh Centenary of His Death*, ed. idem (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955, repr. 1969), 1–69, here 62–65; Richard W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 287–90.

[10] P. Osmund Lewry, "Robert Kilwardby's Commentary of the *Ethica nova* and *Ethica vetus*," in *L'Homme et son univers au moyen âge*, vol. 2, ed. Christian Wenin (Louvain-la-Neuve: Éditions de l'Institut supérieur de philosophie, 1986), 799–807.

(*alias* Tytynsale / Didenshale / Didneshale) compiled the *Questiones IV librorum Ethicorum*, a work which doubtless stems from his own teaching of moral philosophy.[11] Other possible thirteenth-century Oxford commentators on the *Ethics* are the Augustinian friar John Wilton (d. ca. 1310) and the Franciscan Robert de Cruce (d. after 1285), though their works do not survive.[12] Sometime after 1269 but before the end of the thirteenth century, the Oxford author of a speech given at the inception of a master of arts felt confident enough of the superiority of Oxford as a center of moral philosophical studies that he could boast, "He first crossed to that place [by which the author probably means Paris] where employment in logic flourishes with sophistry; where grammarians, teaching well-ordered speech, laid the first foundations of wisdom. As was fitting, however, he did not delay unduly over these matters. . . . Secondly, he turned to the *studium* at Oxford, where he was more fully instructed in natural philosophy, ethics and metaphysics."[13]

Still, despite this promising start, it must be said that, when compared with the output of continental authors, the sum total of surviving texts associated with the study of moral philosophy firmly attributable to English authors of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is hardly impressive. The most successful of these are Walter Burley's commentaries on the *Ethics* and the *Politics*, extant respectively in some eighteen copies and in thirty-six integral copies and five fragments.[14] Burley, who had completed his studies in arts as a student and fellow of Merton College and gone on to study theology at Paris, was a prolific commentator on Aristotle's works. He composed his moral philosophical commentaries late in life, around 1334, by which time he had become a seasoned royal servant and joined the household of the bibliophile bishop of Durham, Richard

[11] The earliest manuscript of this work, Durham Cathedral Libr. C.IV.20A, was copied at Durham Priory in 1283. Other surviving MSS are Cambridge, Gonville & Caius 611/341 (s. xiii^{ex}) and Oxford, Oriel 33 (s. xiv^{1}): Richard Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 236; P. Osmund Lewry, "Grammar, Logic, and Rhetoric 1220–1320," in *History of the University of Oxford*, 1: 401–33, here 421 n. 4.

[12] For Wilton, see Charles H. Lohr, "Medieval Latin Aristotle Commentaries," *Traditio* 27 (1981): 251–351, at 303. For de Cruce, Sharpe, *Handlist*, 533. Sharpe, *Handlist*, 296, accepts the ascription to John Pecham, OFM (d. 1292) of a commentary on the *Ethica nova* and *Ethica vetus*, but neither Gauthier, *L'Éthique*, 116–17, nor Gernot Wieland, in *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy*, ed. Norman Kretzmann, A. Kenny, and J. Pinborg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 658, credits this attribution.

[13] Lewry, "Grammar, Logic and Rhetoric," 411.

[14] The manuscripts are listed in Sharpe, *Handlist*, 718–20, though Christoph Flüeler, *Rezeption und Interpretation der Aristotelischen "Politica" im späten Mittelalter*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: B.R. Grüner, 1992), 13–15, gives a more complete list of *Politics* commentary manuscripts.

Bury. Both works, Burley tells us, were composed at the instigation of Bury and another member of Bury's coterie, Richard Bentworth, a longtime royal servant and bishop of London.[15]

Also from Bury's circle comes the *Quaestiones morales super X libros Ethicorum* of Richard Kilvington (d. 1361). Kilvington, like Burley, had studied and taught arts at Oxford, probably at Oriel College, and completed his studies in theology there by 1339, by which time he enjoyed Bury's patronage and had become a clerk of Edward III. His questions on the *Ethics* comes from his Oxford years, so it is indeed curious that none of the ten manuscripts is found today in an English library.[16] The last surviving English moral philosophical text, the questions on the *Ethics*, or *Questiones moralis philosophie* of John Dedecus, though certainly associated with teaching at either Oxford or Cambridge, may have been composed by a visiting Portuguese Franciscan. Five copies are extent, all in English libraries, and another four are attested in medieval English collections.[17]

At first this may seem a rather anemic showing. Still, it should be stressed that all these works proliferated and had some influence, especially those of Burley. Moreover, there are ascriptions to Englishmen of lost works. A commentary *In libros Ethicorum* by the Carmelite Oxford scholar John Baconthorpe (d. ca. 1348) was attested by Leland in the library of the London Carmelites.[18] Copies of a *Conclusiones Ethicorum libros X* of the Cistercian William Slade (d. ca. 1415), who likely was an Oxford DTh, were attested by Bale at Magdalen College, Oxford, and, under the name of *Flores moralium*, by Leland at Buckfast Abbey, where Slade had been abbot, and at Fountains Abbey.[19] The "Tabula Deveroys super Ethica" bequeathed by Thomas Markaunt to his college, Peterhouse, Cambridge in 1439, was almost certainly compiled by John Deverose, who had been a fellow there ca. 1383–1400.[20]

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[15] For Burley's life and works, see Connor T. Martin, "Walter Burley," in *Oxford Studies Presented to Daniel Callus*, Oxford Historical Society, n.s. 16 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 194–230; and M.C. Sommers, "Burley, Walter (b.1274/5, d. in or after 1344)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 60 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 8: 870–74.

[16] Sharpe, *Handlist*, 485–86. On Kilvington, see Katherine Walsh, "Kilvington, Richard (c. 1305–1361)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 31: 579–80.

[17] Sharpe, *Handlist*, 234; J.P.H. Clark, "John Dedecus: Was He a Cambridge Franciscan?" *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 80 (1987): 3–38.

[18] Sharpe, *Handlist*, 208.

[19] Sharpe, *Handlist*, 810.

[20] Christopher R. Cheney, "A Register of MSS Borrowed from a College Library, 1440–1517: Corpus Christi College, MS 232," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 9 (1987): 103–29, at 107. The college received one, and probably two more copies of Deverose's *tabula* from another of its fellows, John Tittleshall, who died in 1458. A fourth copy made its way to Oxford: Peter D. Clarke, *The University and College Libraries*

Perhaps most interesting, though, are the lost works of John Kervyle OESA, who had been the Augustinian friars' regent master of theology at Oxford in 1388. Sometime before ca. 1435, one of the friars of the York convent, John Bukwode, donated a book to the library there containing, among other things, "Kervyle super libros politicorum Aristotelis cum duabus tabulis Egidii de regimine principum" and an "abbreviatio prefati magistri Kervyle super libros politicorum sancti Thome."[21] As will become apparent in this essay, the combination of Aristotle's works of moral philosophy with Giles of Rome's mirror of princes, the *De regimine principum*, was a practice not limited to Giles's Augustinian confreres, but was a more generalized feature of moral philosophical study in later medieval England. Other ascriptions, to Nicholas Trevet, Richard de Lavingham, Roger Swyneshead, John Dumbleton, and Thomas Netter, are either spurious or tenuous enough to be discounted for the purposes of this essay.

This concludes what is known as far as concerns authorship of works by Englishmen who were associated with the teaching and learning of Aristotelian moral philosophical texts in the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries. Of course, a look at surviving manuscripts and medieval library catalogues and book lists tells a far richer and more varied story. I have to date found 125 manuscripts containing integral texts or fragments of Aristotelian moral philosophical works originating in England, having been executed by English scribes either in England or on the continent (primarily at Paris), or with clear signs of English medieval ownership or use, by both individuals and institutions (see Table 1).[22] Beginning with the texts of the *Corpus Aristotelicum*, the best represented work in this group is the *Ethics* in Grosseteste's translation, extant in twenty-nine copies. To these can be added the nine complete copies of the *Ethica nova* and *Ethica vetus* and two each of the *Ethica nova* (both fragments) and *Ethica vetus* standing alone. Given that the *Ethica nova/vetus* translation predates the complete Grosseteste version, it comes as no surprise that most and perhaps all copies were made before 1300. Most copies of the complete translation also are early products, fifteen having been made in the thirteenth century and another seven in the years on either side of 1300. Only two copies of this version of the *Ethics* date from after the middle of the fourteenth century.

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of Cambridge, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues (hereafter CBMLC) 10 (London: British Library, 2002), 185.

[21] K.W. Humphreys, *The Friars' Libraries*, CBMLC 1 (London: British Library, 1990), xxviii-xxix, 82. See also Briggs, *Giles of Rome's "De regimine principum"*, 101–3.

[22] This list does not include those manuscripts containing either Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* or the *Secretum secretorum* unaccompanied by other texts of Aristotelian moral philosophy. For the manuscripts of the former, see Briggs, *Giles of Rome's "De regimine principum"*, 152–71. On the *Secretum secretorum*, see Steven J. Williams, *"The Secret of Secrets": The Scholarly Career of a Pseudo-Aristotelian Text in the Latin Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).

Signs of ownership and use in many of these copies make it apparent, however, that they continued to be read throughout the later Middle Ages. By the middle of the fifteenth century, demand for humanist texts prompted the making of five copies of Leonardo Bruni's *Ethics* translation. Far less well represented are the other texts of Aristotelian moral philosophy. Only six copies of the *Politics*, six of the *Magna moralia*, and four each of the *Rhetoric*, *Economics*, and *De bona fortuna* survive. This disparity supports the evidence of the Oxford statutes, which give pride of place to the *Ethics* in the prescribed curriculum.[23] Yet these copies show signs of sustained use in the form of annotations and inscriptions; this is especially true of the *Politics*, a work which became increasingly popular in the fifteenth century with Bruni's translation, of which eight copies with ties to later medieval England are extant.

Evidence for the study of moral philosophy is hardly confined to the *originalia*, however. Copies of commentaries and *quaestiones* abound. Table 1 records seventeen copies of Thomas Aquinas's *Ethics* commentary, as well as three of his and Peter of Auvergne's commentary on the *Politics*. Thirteen manuscripts have the collection of the commentaries of Eustratius and other Greeks on the *Ethics*, translated by Grosseteste. Walter Burley's commentaries on the *Ethics* and *Politics* are extant in eight and thirteen copies respectively, Giles of Rome's on *De bona fortuna* and the *Rhetoric* in three and one copies, Albert the Great's *Ethics* commentary in two copies, and Kilwardby's *Ethica nova/vetus* and Bruni's *Isagogicon moralis disciplinae* each in a single copy. To these can be added the *quaestiones* on the *Ethics* of Dinsdale (four copies) and of Dedecus (five copies), and single copies each of Richard Kilvington's and Jean Buridan's questions on the *Ethics*. Two anonymous commentaries on the *Rhetoric* and a set of *quaestiones* on the *Ethics* also survive. To these can be added a dizzying plethora of texts compiled as aids to the study and teaching of moral philosophy. With the exception of Aquinas's *tabula* on the *Ethics* (three copies) and Grosseteste's *Summa in Ethicam* (three copies) and his *Notulae* which are found in several copies of the *Ethics*, these works are silent about their authorship. Yet these anonymous works, variously entitled *tabulae*, *abbreviationes*, *conclusiones*, *notabilia*, *propositiones*, or *extractiones*, as humble and derivative as they no doubt are, remain as some of our most eloquent witnesses of *studia moralis philosophiae* in medieval England.

Three early examples are found in MSS. St. John's 120, Bodleian Digby 55, and Merton 292. In the first of these manuscripts, an English scribe of the second half of the thirteenth century has penned a brief *Tractatulus de virtutibus cardinalibus* (fols. 182–183v) drawn from a number of authorities, including Cicero, *De inventione*, pseudo-Cicero, *Ad Herennium*, Augustine, and Aristotle's *Ethics*, followed by a curious hybrid *abbreviatio* (fols. 184–195) of the *Ethica nova/vetus* and *Ethics* bks. VI–X.3 (thus leaving out bks. IV and V, and the last nine chapters

[23] Fletcher, "Faculty of Arts," 384–85.

of bk. X). Extensive glosses, from a source I have not yet identified,[24] accompany the second book, while the third book incorporates some of the glosses that frequently are found in copies of the *Ethica vetus*. Likewise, where the *Ethica vetus* breaks off before the end of bk. III (in chap. 15, Bekker no. 1119a34), this version (fol. 191rv) adds a paraphrase of the missing material, drawn from Grosseteste's completed version.[25]

The next two manuscripts are of interest not only for their Aristotelian apparatus but also for the graduation speeches each contains which make reference to moral philosophy.[26] In Digby 55 (fols. 178–180v), extracts from the *Rhetoric* and *Ethics* are accompanied by a "sketch of a commentary" on the *Rhetoric*, which Osmund Lewry suggested "may . . . represent an earlier stage in the assimilation of the material," from that represented in Giles of Rome's commentary, completed probably by 1273. It may also simply represent an independent English reading of the text prior to the circulation there of Giles's Parisian commentary.[27] The manuscript's two graduation speeches (fols. 203–204v) show a familiarity with the *Rhetoric*, *Ethics*, and *De bona fortuna*, and with the *Ethics* commentaries of Eustratius et al. Merton 292 includes a table of contents of the *Ethics* (fol. 365rv) as well as two graduation speeches (fols. 372v–373) which also show a familiarity with Aristotle's moral philosophy, citing the *Rhetoric* and *Ethics*.[28]

When viewed together, these three manuscripts reveal an aspect of the study of moral philosophy in the English universities that is not apparent from the statutes, this being the tendency to blend Aristotelian and non-Aristotelian *materia moralis*. Thus the *Ethics* abbreviation in St. John's 120 follows immediately upon the *Tractatulus de virtutibus cardinalibus*; also in the manuscript, though in a fourteenth-century hand, are extracts from John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*. The speeches in the two Oxford manuscripts mix references to Aristotle with those to other moral *auctores*, including Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*, Cicero, *De officiis*, the moral letters of Seneca, Vegetius, and the *Ad Herennium*. Furthermore, the Digby manuscript includes Martin of Braga's *Formula honestae vitae*,

[24] The language of the glosses has affinities with the language of Kilwardby's *Ethics* commentary in Peterhouse 206: Lewry, "Robert Kilwardby's Commentary," 800–1.

[25] The *Ethica nova/vetus* and Grosseteste's version have been edited by René-Antoine Gauthier: *Ethica Nicomachea*, Aristoteles Latinus 26.2–3 (Leiden: Brill, 1972).

[26] P. Osmund Lewry, "Four Graduation Speeches from Oxford Manuscripts (c. 1270–1310)," *Mediaeval Studies* 44 (1982): 138–80.

[27] Lewry, "Four Graduation Speeches," 151–52. Lewry assumes a *terminus ad quem* of 1282 for the completion of Giles's commentary, while my dating is derived from the assessment of Costantino Marmo, "L'Utilizzatione della traduzione latina della 'Rhetorica' nel commento di Egidio Romano (1272–1273)," in *La rhétorique d'Aristote: traditions et commentaires de l'Antiquité au XVIIe siècle*, ed. Gilbert Dahan and Irène Rosier (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1998), 111–34, at 111–13.

[28] Lewry, "Four Graduation Speeches," 168–80.

which is a treatment of the four cardinal virtues thought in the Middle Ages to have been a work of Seneca, as well as extracts from Seneca's moral letters.

This habit is also revealed in later manuscripts. The *Extraccio compendiosa dictorum in Politica Aristotilis* in Bodleian, Bodley 292 (fols. 180–219) proceeds chapter by chapter through the *Politics*, beginning each chapter summary with a lemma followed by several *conclusiones* and *notabilia*. Each chapter of bk. I is also accompanied by a set of *auctoritates*, drawn from Cicero, Seneca, Aristotle's *Magna moralia*, Zenocrates, Proclus, Vegetius, and the Eustratius et al. commentaries. The most frequently cited of the authorities is Cicero, especially the *De officiis*. Extracts from Seneca's moral letters accompany those from the *Ethics*, *Politics*, *Rhetoric*, and *Poetics* in BL Royal 5.C.iii (fols. 44v-50), a manuscript which also includes an *abbreviatio* and alphabetical *tabula* of Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*. A manuscript now in Hereford Cathedral Library (MS. O.VI.2), but coming from mid-fifteenth-century Cambridge (it bears an inscription naming John Otteley, elected a fellow of Clare Hall in 1466), combines John of Wales's *Communiloquium* and *Breviloquium* with Engelbert of Admont's *Speculum virtutis pro Alberto et Ottone Austriae ducibus*. These three texts together provide a considerable amount of material on the cardinal virtues, drawn from a wide array of patristic, classical, and medieval sources. But what is interesting for our purposes here is the fact that the scribe responsible for completing the *Speculum virtutis* appended an excerpt from Aristotle's *Politics* (fol. 92). Another Hereford manuscript, P.III.6, pairs an anonymous commentary on the *Rhetoric* (which draws heavily on Giles of Rome's commentary) with the *De consolatione philosophiae* and Nicholas Trevet's commentary thereon.

These abbreviations, indexes, and collections of extracts reveal another aspect of studies in the later medieval schools: the desire for mediated access to authoritative texts. This mediation aided comprehension, simplified access, and increased speed and efficiency of reference.[29] Included in Balliol 108, in an English hand of the middle years of the fourteenth century, is an anonymous collection of *conclusiones* and *notabilia* on each chapter of the *Ethics* (fols. 106–26v). The *conclusiones* and *notabilia* are each numbered serially, and early marginal notes suggest there had been an intention to rearrange the material, perhaps alphabetically under headwords. A short paragraph immediately following the *explicit* discusses the subject of human happiness and virtue, while pencilled notes of the late fourteenth century on fols. 127–128v deal with questions on moral philosophy.

[29] Malcolm B. Parkes, "The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book," in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J.J.G. Alexander and Margaret T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 115–41; Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse, "*Statim invenire*: Schools, Preachers, and New Attitudes to the Page," in eidem, *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), 191–219.

Mynors thought it likely that this book was already at Balliol by around 1370, when William Feryby, whose name appears on fol. 128v, was a fellow there.[30] It certainly was there by the 1380s.

Another book now at Balliol (MS. 146a), copied in the early fifteenth century, contains a compendium of the *Politics* (fols. 238–281). Its anonymous author explained why he went to the trouble:

> By the grace of God I intend to extract, according to my judgment, the more fruitful sum of Aristotle's *Politics*, respecting the order in which that material appears in the original, and to redact it in easier Latin, while not varying the style very much from that of its expositors, so that anyone who would wish to detract from my words in this work by gnawing away at them, should know that he instead condemns the very words of the expositors. Three things command me to undertake this work. The first is the dearth of books of one's own, so that if I am not able to have at hand the whole text of the *Politics* or its expositors, I shall at least have the best bits available in a booklet. The second is that those who are unable to consider the text itself owing to the difficulty of its style or its extensiveness, might be enabled to get to the heart of the matter in its abridged form. The third is that, if not many, at least some may, through *mores*, be led back to the study of and zeal for philosophy.[31]

Viewed in its entirety, this manuscript has the look of what one might call a "book of politics," since it also includes the *De re militari* of Vegetius, the *Secretum secretorum*, John of Paris's *De potestate regia et papali*, and Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* (accompanied by an alphabetical *tabula*). A second, contemporary, copy of this compendium survives in BL Royal 10.C.ix (fols. 145–173), one of whose readers took enough interest to annotate it fairly extensively through the first several leaves. This book also contains a copy of Giles of Rome's mirror of princes, as well as an alphabetical *tabula* thereon (although a different version from that in

[30] Roger A.B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 89.

[31] "Per dei gratiam intendo summam Aristotilis de libris politicorum magis fructiferam secundum iudicium meum iuxta librorum ordinem extrahere, et in facilius latinum redigere non multum variando stilum a verbis expositorum, ut qui verbis meis in hoc opere voluerit corrodendo detrahere nouerit se nedum ipsa sed expositorum verba contempnere. Et ad istud monent me tria. Primum est carencia librorum de propriis ut, quia [nec] textum integrum politicorum nec expositores super eodem habere mihi valeo, habeam saltem spicas eius maturiores in fasciculum conspicatas. Secundum est ut qui dictum textum pro difficultate stili nequiunt vel propter eius diffusionem ipsum respicere non optauerint medullam summe valeant in breuibus hic habere. Tertium est ut si non multi ad minus aliqui ad studium et zelum philosophie pro [*sic*] mores reddantur." The text here is that found in BL Royal 10.C.ix (fol. 145).

Balliol 146a), and various apparatuses on the *Retractationes* of Augustine, the *Oculus moralis* of Peter of Limoges, and the *De disciplina scolarium*.

Included among the many texts in Gray's Inn 2 is an alphabetical *tabula* of the *Ethics*, *Politics*, and *Rhetoric*, as well as a brief summary of the *Politics* and, as far as I am aware, the only copy of English origin of the *Summa Alexandrinorum*. One of this book's scribes (and, perhaps, compilers), Ralph Wyche, a Franciscan friar, apparently gave this book to his order's convent at Chester towards the end of the fourteenth century. Moral philosophy commentaries and *quaestiones* might also become fodder for the compiler. Thus the first 158 folios of Gonville & Caius 462/735 are devoted to alphabetical *tabulae* on the texts of and standard commentaries on the *Ethics*, *Politics*, and *Rhetoric*, complete with a helpful numbered list of headings at the end. These *tabulae* refer both to the text of Aristotle and to the *expositiones* of their commentators, St. Thomas and Giles of Rome (he does not mention Peter of Auvergne's contribution to the *Politics* commentary). Thus the first entry, s.v. "Adulator," has: "Adulator est amicus superexcessus, hoc est minor eo cui adulatur, si sit eius amicus, vel fingit se talem illi. Et amatores honorum amant tales l · 8 · c · 8 · ph." This refers to Thomas's commentary on Aristotle's discussion in *Ethics* VIII.8 of flatterers and why they are so appealing:

> Ex hoc enim, quod multi magis volunt amari quam ament, procedit, quod multi sint amatores adulationis; qui scilicet delectantur in hoc, quod aliquis eis adulatur. Adulator enim, vel in rei veritate est amicus superexcessus, quia minorum est adulari, vel adulando aliquis fingit se talem, et quod magis amet quam ametur.[32]

This entry, and indeed the entire enterprise, efficiently summarizes the *intentio* of both author and expositor, and thus acts as a useful substitute for the passages in the complete works.

Peterhouse 208 is a miscellany of many and various philosophical and theological texts copied in the second half of the fifteenth century. The most lengthy of its contents is a copy of Leonardo Bruni's translation of the *Ethics*, preceded by a list of contents and accompanied by Aquinas's commentary (fols. 34–170v). Also included, however, are alphabetical *tabulae* on the *Politics* and *De regimine principum*, a brief *Tractatus* on *De consolatione philosophiae*, and a series of *notabilia* extracted from several texts, including a set of *quaestiones* "cuiusdam venerabilis doctoris super libros ethicorum," the *Ethics* itself, and Giles of Rome's *De bona fortuna* and *Rhetoric* commentaries, the *Rhetoric*, the *Politics*, and Peter of Auvergne's commentary on the *Politics*.

Certainly, these and other derivative products of late medieval English scholarship, like the *Ethics* contents summary in Oxford, Corpus Christi 230

[32] Thomas Aquinas, *In Decem Libros Ethicorum Aristotelis ad Nicomachum Expositio*, ed. R.M. Spiazzi, 3rd ed. (Rome: Marietti, 1964), 435.

and the abridged *Economics* in BL Royal 12.C.xx, are hardly as impressive as the great commentaries and *quaestiones disputatae* of Parisian luminaries like Aquinas or Jean Buridan. They do nonetheless show that moral philosophy was hardly a moribund topic of study at England's universities. They also suggest that the entire canon of Aristotelian moral philosophy, and not just the *Ethics*, received the attention of English scholars. This impression is confirmed by the evidence of surviving booklists and library catalogues from medieval England (see Table 2). A survey of published booklists and catalogues reveals 177 lost or unidentified manuscripts containing Aristotelian moral philosophical texts.[33] Just as is the case with the surviving manuscripts, here we find that the 64 certain or likely copies of the *Ethics* (53 of the Grosseteste version, four of Bruni's, one *Ethica nova/vetus* and one *Ethica nova*, and five probable *Ethics* manuscripts) far outnumber those of the *Politics* (11), *Economics* (6), *Rhetoric* (9), *De bona fortuna* (5), and *Magna moralia* (2–3). Commentaries on the *Ethics* also dominate, with twenty-four certain and likely copies of the commentary of Aquinas, ten of Burley, and seven of Eustratius et al. as compared to five and six copies respectively of the *Politics* commentaries of Thomas Aquinas/Peter of Auvergne and of Burley, four and three respectively of Giles's *Rhetoric* and *De bona fortuna* commentaries, and two commentaries on the *Economics*, one certainly and perhaps both being the commentary of Bartholomew of Bruges (completed at Paris, 1309).

Yet if medieval English libraries kept more copies of the *Ethics* and works devoted thereto, they rarely lacked books containing other moral philosophical texts. And as we have seen with the extant manuscripts, the lost and unidentified books exhibit a great variety of texts attesting to the vitality of moral philosophical studies at the universities. In the library of the Austin Friars at York, in addition to John Kervyle's commentary on the *Politics* and *abbreviatio* of Thomas Aquinas's commentary, mentioned above, are a "Tabula super philosophiam moralem Aristotelis" and a "Tabula super 5 libros Boecii de consolatione philosophie et super 8 libros poleticorum."[34] Other intriguing titles are the "Summa politicorum" which John Langton LicCnL gave to Pembroke College, Cambridge in 1447, the "Nove questiones super libros ethicorum," at King's Hall, Cambridge, by 1450, a set of *quaestiones* on the *Politics*, listed among the books of Queen's College, Cambridge in 1472, and a no doubt mistakenly ascribed "Exposicio lyncolniensis super libros politicorum," at Syon Abbey by

[33] This includes 145 definite and twelve probable manuscripts containing works of Aristotelian moral philosophy as well as a further twenty manuscripts containing Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*. Thanks to Paul G. Remley of the University of Washington for supplying me with information regarding the medieval catalogues of Canterbury Cathedral Priory, St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and Canterbury College, Oxford, from M.R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903).

[34] Humphreys, *The Friars' Libraries,* 63–64.

1524. The monastic library of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, possessed a copy of the *Ethics*, which included an "abbreviacio compendiosa" on that text, as well as a "compendium notabile principalium proposicionum libri Ethicorum" and some "questiones extracte summarie de singulis capitulis libri Ethicorum per modum conclusionum et notabilium."[35] Also notable is the "Liber moralis philosophie" bequeathed by Thomas Markaunt MA, BTh to his colleagues at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge in 1439.[36] This massive collection of texts covering all aspects of Aristotelian moral philosophy and including such interesting titles as "Questiones mote super .8. libros politicorum," was, at £10, the most expensive of Markaunt's seventy-five books.[37] That the fellows of the college found the book useful is likely, since it seems to have been loaned out every year, usually as the first pick, from the time of Markaunt's bequest until the early 1500s.[38] This interest in moral philosophy shown by the fellows of Corpus was hardly unique. At Merton College, which has the most complete surviving evidence of *electiones sociorum*, the fellows consistently showed a preference for borrowing books of moral philosophy.[39] The same can be said for the fellows of Lincoln College and All Souls, and for the monks of Canterbury and Worcester (and, very likely, St. Augustine's Canterbury).[40]

The medieval catalogues also suggest that English academic readers turned to Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* as a work of moral philosophy. A register of books donated to Cambridge University Library during the second quarter of the fifteenth century lists a copy of it among the "Libri moralis philosophie"; this same volume still shared a shelf with other works of moral philosophy in the register of 1473.[41] The 1418 Peterhouse catalogue also classifies its library's copy of *De regimine principum* as a book of moral philosophy;[42] evidence of the same practice appears at Dover Priory, and in the libraries of All Souls College

[35] James, *The Ancient Libraries,* 310.

[36] Clarke, *Libraries of Cambridge,* 184–85.

[37] Markaunt also bequeathed a book containing the *Ethics* and *Magna moralia*, as well as a Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* and the *Tabula Ethicorum* of John Deverose.

[38] Cheney, "A Register of MSS," 108.

[39] F.M. Powicke, *The Medieval Books of Merton College* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931); N.R. Ker, "The Books of Philosophy Distributed at Merton College in 1372 and 1375," in idem, *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage*, ed. A.G. Watson (London and Ronceverte, WV: Hambledon Press, 1985), 331–78.

[40] For the Canterbury monks studying at Oxford, see James, *The Ancient Libraries*; Roberto Weiss, "The Earliest Catalogues of the Library of Lincoln College," *Bodleian Library Quarterly* 8 (1937): 343–59; N.R. Ker, *Records of All Souls College Library 1437–1600* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1971); Rodney M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in the Worcester Cathedral Library* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2001), xix, xxv–xxvix.

[41] Clarke, *Libraries of Cambridge,* 21, 39.

[42] Clarke, *Libraries of Cambridge,* 496.

and Lincoln College, Oxford.[43] So too when a *tabula* on *De regimine principum* is found in a volume containing multiple items, its immediate neighbors belong to the category of moral philosophy. Thus we find the two *tabulae* on *De regimine principum* in the volume of Kervyle's writings at York, and the combination of a *tabula* on *De regimine principum* with one on the *Policraticus* and a copy of the *Speculum regis Edward III* in a book at Syon Abbey.

The same habit of combining Giles's mirror of princes with other moral philosophical texts is apparent in surviving books. It is paired with Walter Burley's commentary on the *Politics* in CUL Ii.II.8, Pembroke 158, and Balliol 282, and with Aquinas's *Ethics* commentary in Gonville & Caius 508/387, Bodleian Auct. F.3.3 (along with Vegetius, *De re militari*), and Bodleian Hatton 15; it shares a manuscript with a summary of the *Politics* (as well as Vegetius, John of Paris, and the *Secretum secretorum*) in Balliol 146a. A look at Table 1 also reveals that *tabulae* on *De regimine principum* appear in Peterhouse 208, and BL Royal 5.C.iii and Royal 10.C.ix.

That English scholars frequently turned to *De regimine principum* as an authority on moral philosophy goes a long way toward explaining the text's popularity with this audience.[44] It may also modify the import of the overwhelming preponderance of surviving and lost/unidentified copies of the *Ethics* and related texts versus those of the *Politics*, *Economics*, and *Rhetoric*. In *De regimine principum* Giles achieved the most successful and extensive medieval appropriation of Aristotle's moral philosophical corpus.[45] The work's organization into three

[43] William P. Stoneman, *Dover Priory*, CBMLC 5 (London: British Library, 1999), 30; Ker, *Records of All Souls*, 38; Weiss, "The Earliest Catalogues," 353. For the same practice in continental libraries, see Hiver de Beauvoir, ed., *La librairie de Jean duc de Berry au Chateau de Mehun-sur-Yevre, 1416* (Paris: Auguste Aubry, 1860), 35–42; Gilles Meersseman, "La bibliothèque des Frères Prêcheurs de la Minerve à la fin du XVe siècle," in *Mélanges Auguste Pelzer* (Louvain: Bibliothèque de l'Université, 1947), 605–34, here 630; *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii: The Medieval Booklists of the Southern Low Countries*, ed. Albert Derolez and Benjamin Victor, vol. 2, *Provinces of Liège, Luxembourg and Namur* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1994), 148–61.

[44] The sixty extant manuscripts from medieval England are described and discussed in Briggs, *Giles of Rome's "De regimine principum"*. Here it should be noted that in this earlier publication I mistakenly cited Durham Cathedral Library B.III.31 as B.IV.31, and was unaware of a *tabula* of *De regimine principum* in B.IV.43. The twenty lost/unidentified *De regimine principum* manuscripts listed in Table 2 include the "Tractatus de regimine principum" given by John Lenne to Clare Hall, Cambridge. Other lost/unidentified copies, not included in Table 2, can be found in Briggs, *Giles of Rome's "De regimine principum"*, 54, 61–62, 66–67, 70, 94–95, 97, 99, 106.

[45] Roberto Lambertini, "A proposito della 'costruzione' dell'*Oeconomica* in Egidio Romano," *Medioevo* 14 (1988): 315–70; idem, "'Philosophus videtur tangere tres rationes': Egidio Romano lettore ed interprete della *Politica* nel terzo libro del *De regimine principum*," *Documenta e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 1 (1990): 277–325; idem, "Il

books manifests the tripartite division of moral philosophy into ethics, economics, and politics that is a commonplace of medieval *divisiones scientiarum*.[46] It is, moreover, the most thoroughgoing source of citations from Aristotle's *Politics*, *Ethics*, and *Rhetoric*, with some 235, 185, and 90 named citations respectively.[47] And, despite Giles having written it before the translation into Latin of the *Economics*, he nonetheless manages in book two to construct a fully (though nonetheless modified) Aristotelian economics on the basis of material drawn from the *Politics* and Aquinas's commentaries thereon.[48] I do not think it at all far-fetched to suggest that medieval English scholars were aware of this text's utility as a source of Aristotle's *corpus moralis philosophiae*, and that they employed it as such. One sixteenth-century cataloguer even went so far as to list the *De regimine principum* in CUL Ii.2.8 as "Egidio super Politicam."[49]

This essay has argued that Aristotelian moral philosophy was not nearly so neglected a subject of study at England's later medieval universities as might appear to be the case from the evidence of both the statutes and works of known English authorship. English scholars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries regularly applied themselves to the study of moral philosophy and even made contributions, albeit frequently anonymous and derivative, in aid of this study. True, Oxford and Cambridge did not produce the Aristotelian fireworks of Paris-based polemicists like John of Paris and Marsilius of Padua or vernacular translations like those of Nicole Oresme, but English knowledge and understanding of the moral lore of the Philosopher occasionally rises to the surface in sermons, penitential texts, political speeches, and books of advice for princes.[50]

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filosofo, il principe e la virtù: Note sulla ricezione e l'uso dell' *Etica Nicomachea* nel *De regimine principum* di Egidio Romano," *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 2 (1991): 239–79; Ubaldo Staico, "Rhetorica e politica in Egidio Romano," *Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 3 (1992): 1–75; Janet Coleman, "Some Relations between the Study of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, *Ethics* and *Politics* in Thirteenth- and Early Fourteenth-Century University Arts Courses and the Justification of Contemporary Civic Activities (Italy and France)," in *Political Thought and the Realities of Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph Canning and Otto G. Oexle (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1998), 127–57; Briggs, *Giles of Rome's "De regimine principum"*; idem, "Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in the Later Medieval Universities: A Reassessment," *Rhetorica* 25 (2007): 243–68, at 247–50; Matthew S. Kempshall, *The Common Good in Late Medieval Political Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 130–56.

[46] James A. Weisheipl, "The Classification of the Sciences in Medieval Thought," *Mediaeval Studies* 27 (1965): 54–90, here 65–66.

[47] Briggs, "Aristotle's *Rhetoric*," 247.

[48] Lambertini, "A proposito," 335–50.

[49] Clarke, *Libraries of Cambridge*, 92.

[50] Siegfried Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England: Orthodox Preaching in the Age of Wyclif* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 424, 473, 560, 564, 612, 620, 622, 654; idem, ed. and trans., *Summa virtutum de remediis anime*

Their active engagement with these texts, moreover, contributed to what Alastair Minnis has recently termed a "practical philosophy" of "international lay culture" in England.[51] In so far as moral philosophy was concerned, then, the *usus Oxoniensis* was no more than a variant of broader European intellectual currents.

(Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984), 52–54, 148, 158, 270; idem, ed. and trans., *Fasciculus morum: A Fourteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989), 128, 259, 499, 619, 703; Beryl Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1960), 311, 322, 330, 334, 336, 353; Jean-Philippe Genet, ed., *Four English Political Tracts of the Later Middle Ages*, Camden Fourth Series 18 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), 170, 180; John Watts, "*The Policie in Cristen Remes*: Bishop Russell's Parliamentary Sermons of 1483–84," in *Authority and Consent in Tudor England: Essays Presented to C. S. L. Davies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 33–59, esp. 35 and 53 n. 4. John Wyclif relies on the *Ethics* in his discussion of the virtues in the *Trialogus*, bk. III (I thank Stephen Lahey for alerting me to this and sending me a typescript of his forthcoming translation of the *Trialogus*).

[51] Alastair J. Minnis, "'I speke of folk in seculer estaat': Vernacularity and Secularity in the Age of Chaucer," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 27 (2005): 25–58.

Table 1
Moral Philosophy MSS of Medieval English Origin/Provenance, or with Evidence of English Scribal Activity

In Table 1 and Table 2, only moral philosophical texts are mentioned. Most of the biographical information for Table 1 is derived from A.B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), and idem, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963). Most information relating to institutional ownership of extant manuscripts is derived from N.R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*: *A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd ed. (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964). In both tables, the following abbreviations are used:

C	Commentary
Dbf	*De bona fortuna*
DRP	*De regimine principum*
E	*Nicomachean Ethics*
En	*Ethica nova*
Env	*Ethica nova* and *Ethica vetus*
Ev	*Ethica vetus*
P	*Politics*
Po	*Poetics*
Q_	*Quaestiones*
R	*Rhetoric*
Ss	*Secretum secretorum*
Y	*Economics*

Avranches, Bibl. municipale
222 (xiii^{ex}; Engl. scribe) **E, Notulae**

Bruges, Grootseminarie
106/145 (xiii^{ex}/xiv^{in}; Engl. or Flemish scribe) **Thos EC**

Cambridge, University Libr. (CUL)
Ee.II.29 (xv^{med}) **Geremia da Montagnone *Compendium moralium notabilium***
Hh.I.6 (xv) **Bruni E**
Ii.II.8 (xv^{in}; Mr Richard Bury, scribe) **Burley PC, Giles DRP**; Cambridge Univ. Libr. (by 1557)

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
398 (xv^{2}) **Bruni P**

Cambridge, Gonville & Caius College
289/273 (xiii^{ex} + xiv^{1}) **E, Thos EC**
341/537 (xiii; Engl. scribes) **Env**
369/591 (AD 1465–67; John Howson MA, scribe) **Dedecus EQ**
458/396 (xiii^{ex}) **Env**; Richard Pulham BCL — Gonville Hall (by ca. 1400) — Bayham Abbey (during 1400s)
462/735 (xv^{in}) **Thos EC tabula, Thos/Peter PC tabula, Giles RC tabula**
490/486 (xiv^{ex}) **Burley PC, Burley EC**
494/263 (xiii^{med}) **Env**; Peter Blome — Gonville Hall (1400s)
505/383 (xiv^{2}) **Burley PC**; William Asplyn MA, BTh Oxford — Syon Abbey (by 1485)
508/387 (xiv^{in}; English or French scribes) **Thos EC, Giles DRP**
510/388 (xiii; German or NE French scribe) **Albert EC**; John Loppham — William Wyot — Gonville Hall (1450)
611/341 (xiii^{ex}) **Dinsdale EQ**; ?Michael Causton MA, SchCL — Gonville Hall (by late 1300s)

Cambridge, King's College
11 (AD 1480; Robert Hacumblen MA, DTh, scribe) **E**; King's College (by 1528)

Cambridge, Pembroke College
130 (xiv^{in}; N French or Engl. scribes) **M, E, P, R, Mm, Ss**; Thomas Wryght DTh — Pembroke (by 1490)
157 (xiv^{2}) **Burley EC, Burley PC**; John Clenche MA, DTh — Pembroke (by ca. 1430)
158 (xv^{1}) **Burley PC, Giles DRP**; Thomas Lavenham LicCnL — Pembroke (by ca. 1435)

Cambridge, Peterhouse
57 (xiii^{ex}/xiv^{in}) **M, E, P, R**; Walter de Blacollisley MA — Peterhouse (by ca. 1330s)
82 (xiii^{ex}) **Giles DbfC, Thos EC, Thos/Peter PC, Giles RC**; Mr John Malebraunch — Walter Boseville OFM — Peterhouse (by ca. 1315)
90 (xiii^{ex}/xiv^{in}; N French scribes) **Dbf**; Thomas Arundel, abp. of Canterbury — Peterhouse (by 1414)
93 (xiv^{2}) **Burley EC, Burley PC**; Peterhouse
116 (xiii^{ex}) **Grosseteste E Summa, E, Eustratius EC, Notulae**; John Malebraunch — Peterhouse (by ca. 1315)
143 (xiii^{ex}/xiv^{in}; English and/or N French scribes) **Giles DbfC**; Peterhouse (by 1418)
184 (xv) **Thos E tabula**; Peterhouse (by 1418)
206 (xiii^{ex}/xiv^{in}) **Kilwardby EnvC**; Peterhouse (by 1418)

208 (xv^{med}) **Bruni E, Thos EC, P tabula, Giles DRP tabula, EQ notabilia, E notabilia, Giles DbfC notabilia, R notabilia, Giles RC notabilia, P notabilia, Peter PC notabilia**

Cambridge, St. John's College
120 (xiii^{2}) ***Tractatulus de virtutibus cardinalibus*, Env abbrev, E bks VI-X abbrev, *Policraticus* extracts**

Cracow, Bibl. Jagiełłońskiego
501 (xiii^{ex}/xiv^{in}; Engl. scribes) **E w. Albert EC and Eustratius EC annotations, Thos EC, Mm** (last two items s. xiv^{1})

Dublin, Trinity College Libr.
C.2.8 (xiii^{med}) **E** (fragments of parts of bks. VII-X)

Durham Cathedral Libr.
B.I.23 (xiv) **Thos EC**; Durham Priory
C.IV.20A (AD 1283) **Dinsdale EQ**; Durham Priory

Eton College
122 (xiii^{2}) **Eustratius EC, Notulae**; William Horman — Eton (by 1535)

Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana
Plut. LXXIX, 13 (xiii^{ex}; Engl. scribe at ?Paris) **E, Eustratius EC, Notulae**
Florence, Bibl. Nazionale
Conv. Soppr. B.6.1681 (xiv^{1}; Engl. scribe) **Kilvington EQ**
Conv. Soppr. G.5.1290 (xiii^{ex}; Engl. scribes) **E, Mm** (both texts with annotations in Engl. hands)
Conv. Soppr. I.5.21 (xiii^{ex}; Engl. scribe and annotator); **Eustratius EC, Notulae**; Coluccio Salutati — Cosimo de' Medici — Dominican Convent of San Marco, Florence

Hereford Cathedral Libr.
O.VI.2 (xv^{med}) **Engelbert of Admont *Speculum virtutis*, P excerpts**; John Otteley MA Cambridge (1468)
P.III.6 (xv^{in}) **RC, R chapter summary**; Owen Lloyd DCL — Hereford Cathedral (1478)

London, British Libr. (BL)
Burney 304 (xiv^{ex}/xv^{in}) **Burley PC**
Royal 5.C.iii (xv^{med}) **Giles DRP tabula, Giles DRP abbrev, Propositiones from many texts incl. E, P, R, Po and Seneca ad Lucilium**; John Pye, London bookseller — Thomas Eborall DTh Oxford (d. ca. 1470s)

Royal 9.E.i (xv^{med}; William Reynoldson MA DTh Cambridge, scribe) **Bruni E, Thos EC, Thos E tabula**
Royal 10.C.ix (xv^{in}) **Giles DRP tabula, Giles DRP contents summary, Giles DRP, P summary**
Royal 10.C.xi (xiv^{ex}) **Burley PC**
Royal 12.C.xx (xv^{2}) **Y abbrev, Bruni *Isagogicon in libros morales Aristotelis*, Ss**
Royal 12.D.ii (xiii^{ex}/xiv^{in}) **En** (fragment)
Royal 12.D.xiv (xiii^{ex}) **Env**; John Sheppey, bp. of Rochester — Rochester Cathedral Priory (by 1360)
Royal 12.F.xix (xiii^{ex}) **En** (fragment); Reading Abbey

London, Gray's Inn Libr.
2 (xiv^{ex}) **Tabula of E P and R, P synopsis, Sa**; Ralph Wyche OFM — Chester Franciscan Convent (late 1300s)

Naples, Bibl. Nazionale
VIII.G.4 (xiii^{med}; Engl. scribe and annotator) **E, Eustratius EC**; Dominican Convent of Santa Lucia, Fabriano

Oxford, Bodleian Libr.
Auct. F.3.3 (xiv^{2}) **Thos EC, Giles DRP, Vegetius *De re militari***; Reading Abbey
Auct. F.5.27 (xv) **Bruni P**
Auct. F.5.29 (xiii^{med}) **Ev**; Henry Jolypace, chamberlain of St. Paul's, London — New College (by early 1400s)
Auct. F.6.2 (xv) **Bruni P**
Barlow 42 (xv) **Bruni P**
Bodley 292 (xiv^{2}) ***Extraccio compendiosa in Politica Aristotelis***; St. Albans (by 1400s)
Digby 55 (xiii^{2}) **Martin of Braga *Formula honestae vitae*, Seneca, R extracts, RC, E extracts**; Oxford (1300s)
Digby 150 (xiii^{2}; N France) **Giles DbfC**; Oriel College (by 1474)
Hatton 15 (xiv^{2}) **Giles DRP, Thos EC**; Oxford (by mid 1400s)
Rawlinson D.1218 (xiv^{ex}/xv^{in}) **Y**
Selden supra 24 (xii^{ex}; N France) **Ev**; St. Albans (by early 1200s)

Oxford, All Souls College
84 (xiii^{2}) **Grosseteste E Summa, E, Eustratius EC, Notulae, Thos EC glosses**; John Stokes, warden of All Souls — All Souls (ca. 1465)
88 (xv^{1}) **Dedecus EQ**; Walter Hopton — All Souls (by 1459)

Oxford, Balliol College
93 (xv^{in}) **Dedecus EQ**; William Gray, bp. of Ely — Balliol (by 1478)
95 (xiv^{2}) **Burley EC, Burley PC**; John Malvern DTh — Balliol (by 1422)
108 (xiv$^{1\text{-}med}$) **E conclusiones**; Balliol (by ca. 1370)

112 (xiv^{in}) **P, Mm, Y**; Elias de Ashby DTh — Balliol (by 1319)
115 (AD 1442–44; Cologne) **Buridan EQ**; William Gray — Balliol (by 1478)
116 (xiii^{ex}) **E, Eustratius EC**; Balliol (by ca. 1380)
117 (xv) **Dedecus EQ**; George Nevill, abp. of York — Balliol (by 1465)
146a (xv^{in}) **Vegetius *De re militari*, Ss, John of Paris *De potestate regia et papali*, Giles DRP w. tabula, P summary**
241 (xiii^{ex}/xiv^{in}; Paris) **Thos EC** (Engl. scribe); Balliol (by late 1300s)
242 (AD 1444–54; Italy) **Bruni E, Bruni P,** (formerly also contained **Bruni Y**); William Gray — Balliol (by 1478)
250 (xiii^{ex}; France) **R**; Balliol (by late 1300s)
277 (xiii^{ex}; Engl. or French scribe) **E**; Balliol (by late 1300s)
278 (xiii^{ex}/xiv^{in}; Paris, at least one Engl. scribe) **Thos EC, Thos PC**; Balliol (by late 1300s)
282 (xiv^{med}) **Giles DRP, Burley PC**

Oxford, Christ Church
Evelyn Collection h.65 (xiv^{in}) **Thos EC** (fragment)

Oxford, Corpus Christi College
230 (xv^{ex}) **E notabilia**
398 (xv) **Bruni P**

Oxford, Lincoln College
21 (xv) **Bruni E**; Robert Fleming — Lincoln (1465)

Oxford, Magdalen College
49 (AD 1472; John Gold MA, scribe) **Bruni E, Bruni P**; John Gold — Magdalen
178 (xiii^{ex}/xiv^{in}) **Thos EC**; Oxford (by 1470s)
189 (xv^{2}) **Bruni E, Y, Bruni P**; Nicholas Good DTh — Nicholas Attewater — Magdalen (by late 1400s)
205(xv^{2}) **Burley EC, Burley PC**
265 (xiv) **Thos EC** (fragment)

Oxford, Merton College
2 (D.3.10) (xiv) **Thos EC** (fragment); Merton (before 1521)
14 (A.3.2) (xiii^{2}) **Grosseteste E Summa, Notulae**; William Burnell, dean of Wells — Merton (by 1304)
21 (B.2.9) (xv^{2}) **Thos ET, E chapter summary**; Merton (before 1385)
273 (O.3.5) (xiv^{1}) **Thos PC**; Merton (ca. 1360)
276 (H.2.8) (xiv^{1}) **Mm**; Merton (before 1385)
281 (O.3.1) (xiv^{in}) **Giles DbfC**; William Rede, bp. of Chichester — Merton (1374)
292 (O.1.8) (xiv^{in}) **E conclusiones**; Merton (before 1385)

Oxford, New College
242 (xiv^{2}; John Balne, scribe) **Burley EC, Burley PC**; Thomas Chaundler DTh, warden of New College — New (by 1490)

Oxford, Oriel College
25 (xiii^{ex}/xiv^{in}) **E, Dbf, R**; John Cobbledik MA — Oriel (by 1337)
33 (xiii^{ex}/xiv^{in}) **Dinsdale EQ**; William Walcot MA (d. 1323) — Oriel
57 (xiv^{2} + xiv^{ex}) **Burley EC, Burley PC**; Oriel (by 1400s)

Paris, Bibl. Mazarine
3458 (xiii^{2}; N France with some glosses in Engl. hand) **Dbf**
3470 (xiii^{2}; N France with many glosses in Engl. hands) **Env**; French possessors in 1300s and 1400s
3473 (xiii^{ex}/xiv^{in}; mostly Engl. scribes) portion of **Eustratius EC**; Saint-Jacques, Paris

Paris, Bibl. nationale de France
lat. 6459 (xiv^{2}; England) **E, Burley EC**
lat. 6576 (xiii^{ex}/xiv^{in}; Engl. scribe) **Env**
lat. 8802 (xii-xvi^{in}; England) **Ev** (s. xiii), **Dbf** (s. xvi^{in}); names of Bryghtman, Thomas Allen, John Caspar, and Kenelm Digby
lat. 12950 (xiii^{ex}/xiv^{in}; Engl. scribe) **Env**; Saint-Germain des Prés, Paris
lat. 14698 (xiii^{ex}/xiv^{in}; Engl. scribe) **EQ**; Saint-Victor, Paris (by 1400s)
lat. 17811 (xiv^{1}; several scribes, including fr. William of Lincoln and fr. Alan Wythybrcht) **E tabula**
lat. 17832 (xiii^{ex}/xiv^{in}; Engl. or French scribe) **E, Eustratius EC, Grosseteste E Summa, Mm**; College de Navarre (by 1400s)

Princeton, University Libr.
Garrett 102 (xiv^{in}; Italian scribes) **E, P**; fr. Thomas Ratford OFM, DTh — Lincoln Franciscan convent (1340s)

Rome, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana
Ottob. lat. 2214 (xiii^{ex}; Engl. scribe) **E**
Pal. lat. 1017 (xiv^{in}; Engl. scribes) **E**; Paris (by ca. 1400)
Pal. lat. 1024 (AD 1329; Engl. scribe) **Thos EC summary** ("Summarium Vaticanum")
Urb. lat. 1325 (xiv^{1}; Engl. scribe) **E, Notulae**; France (by ca. 1350)
Vat. lat. 2171 (xiii^{ex}; Engl. scribe) **E, Eustratius EC, Notulae**

Rouen, Bibl. municipale
923 (xiii^{ex}/xiv^{in}; many glosses in Engl. hand) **E, P**; Fécamp (by ca. 1400)

Saint-Omer, Bibl. municipale
598 (xiii^{ex}/xiv^{in}; Paris with some Engl. scribes) **Mm, Averroes PoC, Y, P, Env, E**
619 (xiii^{ex}; Paris with glosses in Engl. hand) **E, Thos EC**; Saint-Bertin
625 (xiii^{med}; England) **Env**; Saint-Bertin

Venice, Bibl. Marciana
Lat. VI, 122 (xiii^{2}; Engl. or N French scribe with annotations in Engl. hand) **E, Eustratius EC, Notulae**; Ioachimus Turrianus of Venice OP — Dominican convent of SS. John and Paul (1487–1500)

Worcester Cathedral Libr.
F. 63 (xiii^{ex}) **E, Notulae** (copied in by fr. Richard Bromwych in early 1300s); Worcester Cathedral Priory (by early 1300s)
F. 86 (xv^{in}) **Dedecus EQ**; Worcester Cathedral Priory (probably made in Oxford for the priory's monks)
F. 138 (xiii^{ex}) **Thos EC**; Worcester Cathedral Priory (by late 1200s)
F. 169 (xiv^{in}) **M, E**; Worcester Cathedral Priory (by early 1300s)

Table 2
Lost and Unidentified Manuscripts

The information for this table is derived from the appropriate volumes of CBMLC. The only exceptions are Beriah Botfield, *Catalogi veteres librorum ecclesiae cathedralis Dunelmensis*, Publications of the Surtees Society 7 (London: J.B. Nichols and Son, 1838); N.R. Ker, "Books at St. Paul's Cathedral before 1313," in *Books, Collectors and Libraries*, 209–42; William J. Courtenay, "The Fourteenth-Century Booklist of the Oriel College Library," *Viator* 19 (1988): 283–90; and from the books and articles, cited in preceding notes, of James (for Canterbury Cathedral Priory, St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and Canterbury College), Ker (for All Souls College and Merton College), Mynors (for Balliol College), Weiss (for Lincoln College), and Powicke (for Merton College), and Thomson (for Worcester Cathedral Priory).

Bullington Priory, Lincolnshire
Giles DRP (ca. 1530)

Cambridge University Library
Giles RC, Thos EC, Thos PC (ca. 1440; Hugh Parys)
Giles DRP w. tabula (ca. 1440; Thomas Paxton)
Dbf (ca. 1440; James Matissale)
P tabula (1473)
E (1473)
"Textus moralis philosophie" (?E; 1434; Robert Fitzhugh)

Clare Hall, Cambridge
Thos EC (before 1496; John Hurt, fellow 1432)
"Tractatus de regimine principum" (?Giles DRP; 1375; John Lenne)

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
"Liber moralis philosophie," containing: Burley EC, Eustratius EC, Burley E conclusiones, E, Thos EC, Y, Bartholomew of Bruges YC, Bernard of Clairvaux *De laude novae militiae*, PQ, P, Peter PC, R, Giles RC, Dbf, Giles DbfC, *De vita Aristotelis*, *De pomo*, Ss, Roger Bacon *Tractatus ad declarandum quaedam obscure dicta in libro Secreti Secretorum* (1439; Thomas Markaunt)
John Deverose E tabula (1439; Thomas Markaunt)
John Deverose E tabula (1458; John Tittleshall)
John Deverose E tabula (1458; John Tittleshall)
E, Mm (1439; Thomas Markaunt)
Giles DRP (1439; Thomas Markaunt)

Godshouse, Cambridge
Giles DRP (1476; John Hurt)

King's College, Cambridge
Bruni E (ca. 1457)
Bruni P (ca. 1457)
Burley PC (ca. 1457)
Thos EC (ca. 1457)
Dedecus EQ (1475; William Wyche)
E (1475; William Wyche)

King's Hall, Cambridge
E (borrowed ca. 1390 by Henry de Knyveton, fellow)
Thos EC (ca. 1390)
"Nove questiones super libros ethicorum" (1449–50)

Pembroke College, Cambridge
E, P (1406–28; John Sperhawk)
Giles DRP (1406–28; John Clenche)
"Summa Politicorum" (1447; John Langton)
"Grosseteste cum commento super libros Ethicorum" (probably E w. Eustratius EC; 1487; Thomas Wryght)

Peterhouse, Cambridge
Dedecus EQ (1456; William More)
E (1418)
E, Thos EC (1418)
E (1418)
"bagg continens questiones philosophie moralis et naturalis incomplete" (1418)
"bagg cum tabulis logice Ethicorum et aliorum librorum philosophie" (1418)

Queen's College, Cambridge
Thos EC, Thos ET (1472)
PQ (1472)
Thos/Peter PC (1472)
Burley EC (1472)
Giles DRP (1491–92)

St. Catherine's Hall, Cambridge
E (late 1400s; Robert Wodelarke)
Averroes EC (late 1400s; Robert Wodelarke)
R, Y, Ss (late 1400s; Robert Wodelarke)
P (late 1400s; Robert Wodelarke)

Canterbury Cathedral Priory
E (1291/2; William de Resham, monk)
E (1299; John de London, monk)
Thos EC (1331; William de Ledebery, monk)
E (1331; William de Ledebery)
E (1328; Walter de Norwyco, monk)
"Liber de regimine principis" (probably Giles DRP; 1331; Henry Eastry, prior)
E, P, R (1508)
P (1508)
E (1508)

St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury
Thos E tabula (by 1405; William Welde, abbot)
"Ysagoge in moralem philosophiam" (?Bruni, *Ysagogicon in libros morales Aristotelis*; late 1400s)
"Textus Ethicorum et in eodem libro duplex exposicio super eosdem" (late 1400s; John de Bucwell, monk)
"Textus ethicorum de noua translacione et in eodem quedam abbreviacio compendiosa super libros predictos. Item quoddam compendium notabile principalium proposicionum libri Ethicorum. Item questiones extracte summarie de singulis capitulis libri Ethicorum per modum conclusionum et notabilium" (by 1309; Thomas Findon, abbot)
E (by 1334; Ralph de Bourne, abbot)
P, R (by 1309; Thomas Findon)
Averroes EC "et in eodem libro concordancie Ethicorum," Y (by 1299; John de London, monk)
Albert EC (by 1309; Thomas Findon)
Eustratius EC (by 1309; Thomas Findon)
Eustratius EC, Thos EC (by 1343; Thomas Poucyn, abbot)
Henry of Friemar EC (by 1334; Ralph de Bourne)
Burley EC, Burley PC (by late 1400s; John of Canterbury, ?monk)
"Questiones super iiij libros Ethicorum" (probably Dinsdale EQ; ?early 1300s; Thomas Sprott, monk)
"Questiones super viij libros Ethicorum" (by 1299; John de London)
"Abbreviacio exposicionis super libros Ethicorum" (by late 1400s; Thomas de Salteford, ?monk)
"Conclusiones et notabilia Ethicorum" (by late 1400s; T. de Wyvelesberghe, ?monk)

Dover Priory
E (1389; Michael de Aldin, monk)
E (1389; Salomon, monk)
Giles DRP (1389)

Durham Cathedral Priory
EQ (1392)
E (1392)
Giles DRP (1395)

Ely Cathedral Priory
"Lecture super libros morales Aristotelis, videlicet super libros Ethicorum, Polethicorum, et libelum de bona fortuna in [uno] volumine" (probably Thos EC, Thos/Peter PC, and Giles DbfC; returned to Ely 1329 after lifetime loan to Roger of Huntingfield, fellow of Peterhouse by 1310)

Evesham Abbey, Worcestershire
Burley PC (1392; Nicholas of Hereford, prior)
Giles DRP (1392; Nicholas of Hereford)

Glastonbury Abbey
E conclusiones (1375; Walter de Monington, abbot)

Leicester Abbey
E (mid 1300s; John Sadyngton, cellarer)
E (by late 1400s)
Thos EC (by late 1400s)
Giles DRP (by late 1400s)

London, St. Paul's Cathedral
"moralia Aristotelis" (probably Mm; ca. 1300)

Meaux Abbey, Yorkshire
Thos EC (by 1396)

Norwich Carmelite Convent
R (by ca. 1530)

All Souls College, Oxford
Burley EC, Burley PC (1437; King Henry VI)
"Philosophia moralis et naturalis" (first item either E or a group of moral phil. texts; by 1443)
E (by 1443)
"Tabula philosophie moralis" (by 1443)
Burley EC (1466–7; John Norfolk, first vice-warden)
". . . ethicorum" (probably E; by ca. 1495)
E (1485; John Saunder)
"Textus moralis philosophie" (late 1400s; Richard Topclyffe)

Balliol College, Oxford
"Leonardus Aretinus super libros Ethicorum" (either Bruni E or Bruni *Isagogicon in libros morales Aristotelis*; 1474; Alexander Bell, fellow)
E (1474; Alexander Bell)

Canterbury College, Oxford
Thos EC (1524)
E, P, R (1524)
Giles DRP (1524)
E (1524)
"Textus de singulis causis libri Ethicorum" (1524)
"Textus ethicorum nouiter translatus" (1524)
"Ysagoge in moralem philosophiam" (?Bruni, *Isagogicon in libros morales Aristotelis*; 1524)
E (1524)

Lincoln College, Oxford
Bruni *Isagogicon in libros morales Aristotelis* (1465; Robert Fleming, fellow)
Giles DRP (by 1474; John Marchall, fellow)
E w. Thos EC (by 1474; John Tylney, prebendary of Lincoln)
Burley EC (by 1474; Thomas Gascoigne)
Dedecus EQ (by 1476)
Giles DRP (by 1476)
Burley EC (by 1476)

Merton College, Oxford
E (by 1320s; John Martyn, fellow)
E (by 1320s)
Thos PC (by 1320s)
E (by 1320s; Brice de Sharsted, fellow)
Dbf (by 1320s; Stephen Gravesend, bp. of London)
Thos EC (by 1320s; Stephen Gravesend)
"Questiones morales" (probably *quaestiones* on the *Ethics*; by 1320s; Stephen Gravesend)
E (ca. 1360)
E (by 1372)
Thos EC (by 1372)
Thos EC (by 1372)
E (by 1372)
E (by 1372)
Eustratius EC (1366; William Arderne to Merton, in return for a loan)
E (by 1375)
"Textus moralis" (?E; by 1410)

Thos EC (by 1410)
EQ (by 1410)
E (redeemed by Merton 1432)
"Textus moralis philosophie" (?E; by 1451)
EQ (by 1451)
"Expositio moralis philosophie" (by 1451)
EQ (by 1483)
Y w. YC (by 1483)

Oriel College, Oxford
"Textus poleticorum vel de problematibus" (either P or Aristotle *Problems*; by 1337; John Cobbledik)
"Expositio Methaphisice et Ethicarum" (probably Aquinas's commentaries on the *Metaphysics* and *Ethics*; by 1337; John Cobbledik)
"Sententie super libros Rethoricorum Aristotelis" (probably Giles RC; by 1337; John Cobbledik)

Peterborough Abbey
Env (by late 1300s)
En (by late 1300s)

Ramsey Abbey
E (by mid 1300s; Hugh de Aylingtone, monk)
Thos EC (early 1300s; Walter de Lilleford, monk)
E (early 1300s; Walter de Lilleford)

Syon Abbey, Middlesex
Dbf (by 1485; William Asplyn)
Dbf, E, P, R, "Proposiciones 10 librorum Ethicorum," and "Tabula peroptima 10 librorum Ethicorum" (late 1400s; J. Pynchebek)
Dedecus EQ (either 1487 from Richard Grene or 1508 from John Grene)
Bruni E (perhaps the book printed in Cologne 1470; either Richard Grene or John Grene)
E, P, R, Mm (ca. 1420; John Bracebrigge)
Giles DRP w. tabula (ca. 1420; John Bracebrigge)
Burley EC (ca. 1420; John Bracebrigge)
E (by 1488; Thomas Westhawe)
Book of all natural philosophy, metaphysics, moral philosophy, and parts of old and new logic (by 1524)
Bruni E (by 1513; Stephen Saundre)
Book containing, among other things, Giles DRP tabula, a "tabula Policratici," and William of Pagula *Speculum regis Edwardi III* (by 1524)

"Exposicio lyncolniensis super libros politicorum," Giles RC (the identity of the first text is unclear; by 1524)
Burley EC (by 1524)

Titchfield Abbey, Hampshire
E (by 1400)
E (by 1400)

Winchester Franciscan Convent
Eustratius EC (by ca. 1530)

Worcester Cathedral Priory
Bruni E, Bruni P (mid 1400s; Nicholas Hambury, monk, and John Suckley, monk)

St. Mary's Abbey, York
Thos EC (by mid 1400s)

York Austin Friars Convent
Giles DbfC (by 1372)
"Tabula super philosophiam morale Aristotelis" (by 1372)
"Tabula super 5 libros Boecii de consolacione philosophie et super 8 libros poleticorum" (by 1372)
E (by 1372)
E, R, Y (by 1372)
Giles DRP (by 1372)
Thos EC (by 1372)
Giles DRP (by 1372)
"Libri ethicorum quinque" (apparently an incomplete copy of E; by 1372)
E (by 1372)
Thos EC (by 1372)
Y, Eustratius EC (by 1372)
Thos EC (by 1372)
E bks. II–VII (by 1372)
"Kervyle super libros politicorum Aristotelis cum duabus tabulis Egidii de regimine principum" and "abbreviatio prefati magistri Kervyle super libros politicorum sancti Thome" (presumably John Kervyle OESA compiled some sort of commentary on the *Politics* as well as an *abbreviatio* of Aquinas's *Politics* commentary; 1435; John Bukwode OESA)